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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the positions taken by culturalists and by language sociologists with regard to bilingualism, and discusses the implications of their positions for bilingual education. The former emphasizes duplication of the two languages, the latter their compartmentalization. The first position may not justify a carefully planned bilingual program; the second may prove too rigid for a fluid society. A conciliatory solution is suggested which makes extensive use of skillful code-switching, and which avoids compartmentalization and redundancy while in essence being a full bilingual program. An innovative program at the University of Texas as San Antonio is cited as an example of such a bilingual bicultural program. (Author/AM)

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0. Introduction
1. Two philosophies of bilingual education
2. Implications for bilingual education
3. Two types of bilingual education programs
4. Critical assessment and the conciliatory solution
5. Conclusion

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"The Bilingual's Two Languages: Duplication or Compartmentalization"

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Abstract

Recent studies of the world's bilinguality seem to imply two different postions depending upon whether cultural-linguistic desiderata or rather societal considerations underlie its formulation. The specialist in biculturalism and bilingualism tends to emphasize the need of learning and using the two languages in all domains because he feels that otherwise no true bilinguality can emerge. The language sociologist, on the other hand, insists on the facts that (1) two languages can only survive if there is a societal consensus as to which speech variety is appropriate to which particular domain and (2) any random alternation between the two languages will ultimately lead to the extinction of one of the two varieties.

It is the author's contention that these basic assumptions regarding the nature of bilinguality have not been fully explored and that this issue is a crucial one in order to determine the aims and scope of bilingual education.

To merely seek the ability of randomly alternating between two languages may not justify the efforts involved in a carefully planned bilingual program, since the student will, at the end of his training, integrate into the society in which he lives and thus share its ruling in this as well as other respects. To compartmentalize the two languages such that one is always used in certain domains and the other in different domains may be too rigid a pattern for a fluid society as ours. The answer seems to lie somewhere between a total duplication of the two languages and a strictly compartmentalized language behavior.

It is the objective of the present paper to describe the positions taken by culturalists and sociologists and discuss the implications of their positions for bilingual education. The author will then suggest a conciliatory solution with special emphasis on the situation pertaining to the Southwest of the United States. Finally, he will make some specific references to a highly innovative program in bicultural and bilingual studies implemented in a major southwestern university.

0. Those of us who believe in bilingual education have been very pleased to see bilingual programs multiply and secure a firm hold in many elementary schools, especially at the primary grade level, and even at some high schools, although this increase of bilingual offerings does not always go hand in hand with the corresponding offerings at college level to train bilingual teachers for precisely these programs. On the other hand, the mere implementation of more bilingual education programs tells us nothing about the quality of these offerings and even though many have praised them, others have criticized them severely (Kjolseth, 1972) in the sense that most accomplish the opposite of what they are designed to accomplish, i.e., that they do not contribute to the maintenance but to the loss of the minority language. Furthermore, there seems to be no agreement among those who design and implement these programs how much emphasis, in regard to subject matter and the duration of this instruction, should actually be given the bilingual aspect of the child's education, above and beyond his conventional training.

All this makes us ponder about the kind of philosophy, or should I say philosophies, that underlie bilingual education. As a matter of fact, I can distinguish -- even among the most successful implementations of such programs -- two divergent positions which I shall label the "domain-free" and the "domain-sensitive" (following the linguist's terminology of context-free and context-sensitive) positions and it shall be one of the objectives of the present paper to describe this dichotomy in some detail. In addition, I hope to be able to indicate what the implications for bilingual education of either position are ~~for bilingual education~~ and to what specific type of program each is leading or may lead. Furthermore, I will argue for what appears to be a conciliatory

solution, that is, one that neither leads to the duplication of efforts nor to the compartmentalization of learning tasks and I will finally refer, quite briefly, to an innovative approach that we are in the process of implementing at the new University of Texas at San Antonio within our Multi-Disciplinary College.

1. Two Philosophies of Bilingual Education

Let us not quarrel, in this paper, with the dilemma of a transitional as opposed to a maintenance program but rather focus on two types of maintenance programs, one aiming at full and the other at partial bilingualism. The full bilingualism approach represents what I have called above the domain-free position and is most emphatically endorsed by those whose academic allegiance is to linguistics and culture rather than to sociology and social psychology. Here, the two languages occupy a completely balanced position in the sense that each language is used alternatively regardless of content. Topics regarding the home, the neighborhood, the church, the school, the employment, etc. are dealt with, in a somewhat random fashion, now in language A and then in language B. The underlying philosophy for such a program is one of cultural enrichment. It is felt that children ~~usually of different ethnic backgrounds~~, must be exposed to other-language experience and to other-culture atmosphere to achieve an intercultural and interlingual rapprochement. This is achieved, pedagogically, by total immersion into the other culture and/or language and represents an exciting experiment in inter- as well as intra-national understanding but appears more appropriate when offered to children from economically secure homes for whom an experience abroad or one outside their own monocultural and monolingual environment would not be out of their reach. William F. Mackey (1972)

and Wallace A. Lambert/G. Richard Tucker (1972) have described two different implementations of such a domain-free approach, one in Berlin (Germany) and the other in Montreal (Canada). The former was an explicitly full bilingual program in the sense that two languages, English and German, were used alternatively by teachers and students in all subjects. The latter was merely implicitly fully bilingual in that it took for granted the students' all-around proficiency in their native language (English), which was maintained and somewhat expanded through minimal instruction in English language, and immersed them into a second language experience (French) in all areas of learning. In either case, students developed an impressive ability in functioning in the two cultures without any feelings of anomie. Mackey tells us that

> After a few years in the JFK School some students can pass for native speakers of the other language. When the man in the American Army PX admits a gang of American teenagers using the latest trans-Atlantic lingo, he has no idea that his hamburger-munching guests are really German students who speak no English at home. For them, being able to pass for Americans among Americans (and use the PX) becomes another fringe benefit of bilingualism. (Mackey 1972: 79-80)

In interpreting the results of an instrument designed to measure the pupils' own view of their accomplishment in French and English, Lambert and Tucker state that

> ...44 percent of the Experimental grade IV pupils (the Follow-up group) say that they <u>speak</u> French about as well as or better than they speak English. ...With regard to <u>understanding</u> spoken French, 60 to 70 percent of the two Experimental groups believe they are as good or better in French than in English. ...In <u>reading</u> ability, 50 to 60 percent of the Experimental pupils report they are as good or better in reading French than English. ...With regard to <u>writing</u> skills over 70 percent of the Experimental children feel they can write as well or better in French than English. (Lambert and Tucker 1972: 195)

Furthermore, the authors report that even though

> ...the Experimental children may have the impression at the end of grade IV that they had to pay a small price in English for their competence in French, (but) this impression becomes negligible by the end of grade V. (Lambert and Tucker 1972: ibid.)

The expected competency acquired in school of a domain-free full bilingual program is ~~therefore~~ one in which the students acquire the second language and retain as well as develop their knowledge in the vernacular language to the extent of using both whenever they wish and in regard to whatever subject matter without, however, any clear pattern that might help the observer predict when and for what reason a teacher or student would express himself in a given language. Obviously, this atmosphere of random bilingualism is restricted to the school environment alone and once the child leaves the school, he has returned to his former monolingual and monocultural setting. Whether he will in effect be able to preserve his newly acquired bilinguality will depend on his individual initiative. He may travel to the country where the other language is spoken, he may read books or watch films in the other language, he may maintain or initiate social relationships with members of the other culture or he may simply have gained a favorable attitude toward the other language and the other culture but lose the competency in the former because of lack of use. Hence, the child has acquired his skills for individual cultural and/or linguistic enrichment rather than as a necessity in order to be able to function more effectively in a basically bilingual community.

Contrary to the full bilingual program, which is domain-free and school-based, the partial bilingual program is domain-sensitive and society-based. The focus in the latter is not so much the desire of "developing

balanced competency in individuals" but that of "producing a balanced society." Joshua Fishman argues to this effect that

> though highly bilingual societies might find individuals with highly developed competency in all skills and domains very useful in a variety of roles (teachers, translators, business representatives), a fully balanced bilingual speech community seems to be a theoretical impossibility. Balanced competence implies languages that are functionally equivalent and no society can be motivated to maintain two languages if they are really functionally redundant. (1974: 45)

A partial bilingual program aims primarily at establishing in the children a linguistic competency that will allow them to function as bilinguals, not only within the limitation of the school situation, but also within the community at large. Those who implement or wish to implement such a program are striving, within the framework of Fishman's thinking, for the realization of a highly desirable goal, that of societal co-existence, a goal that they hope to achieve by focusing on domains, that is, on a societal construct that helps the observer recognize the mutual relationship between the chosen language variety and the social institution in regard to which that variety is not only appropriate, but also highly predictable. As a result of these social ~~(societal co-existence)~~ and pedagogical ~~(acquisition of domain sensitivity)~~ foci in the partial bilingual program, the expected competency both in school and in the community lies in the child's proficiency in two languages with mutually exclusive functions and his/her ability to learn to determine within and also outside the school which the function of each language is.

The described theoretical concerns, developing the balanced bilingual individual as opposed to developing the optimal member for a bilingual society, of which the former is basically an enrichment program and the latter, one of inter-ethnic understanding and co-existence, lead, as we have

seen, to two types of bilingual and bicultural programs, the full and the partial, and this philosophical difference must now be explored in terms of the kinds of implications that the two emphases hold for the bilingual education of our children.

2. Implications for Bilingual Education

2.1 The teaching of content

The objectives of a bilingual program, whether full or partial, go far beyond the mere teaching of a second language, although it should be realized that some programs in this country are labeled "bilingual" and little more is done than teaching the child some notions in a second non-English language variety. Second language instruction, then, is the prerequisite for a bilingual program in which the main focus must lie, not in the teaching of language as language, but in the teaching of content in the two languages of the program. The crucial question here is how much content should be taught in one and how much in the other language. Obviously, for the full bilingual program all subject matter must be taught in the two languages and it may be no easy thing to ~~determine~~ understand how, during the same time that would also be available for monolingual instruction, the teacher can actually succeed in teaching everything twice. Furthermore, teaching the same subject a second time, even if this is done in another language, leads unavoidably to duplication. Conversely, for the partial bilingual program some content must be taught in one language and some other content in the other language. Following Fishman's position and our own supportive ~~regard-~~ of ing functional bilingualism, that is, a bilingualism based on the domain-sensitive distribution of the two languages in agreement with the community's observed behavior, those who implement a partial program must decide which portions of the curriculum are best taught in language A and which in language B.

A decision to this effect, on the other hand, can only be reached after the community's interactional patterns are sufficiently known and it may very well be that, as of now, we do not yet know or have not attempted to fully investigate where a given community stands in regard to its language shifting strategies. Following Fishman's position less closely, the implementers of a partial program may decide to agree on an almost random splitting of the content into language A and language B courses, at best with some culture-based considerations in mind, such that social studies, art, literature, etc. are taught in the language of the non-dominant, and the remainder in the language of the dominant (not necessarily numerically superior) society. In either case, we are facing a certain degree of compartmentalization, since the child will be taught to associate one language with some areas of learning and the other language with others. To make matters even more complex, the children in a truly bilingual school setting, that is, in a setting with a multi-ethnic population, may not share the same interactional norms and the language appropriate in one domain, in the view of some of the children, may not be appropriate in that same domain, to the view of others. Spanish, for example, would be appropriate in a bilingual school in South Texas in dealing with matters concerning the Mexican American's home, whereas some variety of the Black English vernacular may be appropriate in the same context for some black children and some variety of regional (Texan) English for the Anglo-American students in a South Texas school. Hence, a fair distribution of the content along domain-sensitive lines may therefore be difficult to achieve and lead, not only to the compartmentalization of subject areas, but also to the closer attention of one rather than the other ethnic group(s).

2.2 Socio-economic perspective and dual language use

The affluent and the economically disadvantaged have both use for bilinguality but in different ways. We have referred above to their differential bilingual goals as "enrichment" and "social co-existence." The member of the upper socio-economic class will often find bilingualism a worthy goal for his children to attain because of the humanistic and also practical values associated with the knowledge of two or more languages. Given the case, his children can comprehend a foreign language, speak, read and write in it, deal with foreign cultural elements in an appropriate way and, from a more practical viewpoint, they would feel at ease abroad and behave there not as "gringos" but as citizens of the world. Knowing one or more languages would indeed enrich the education of these bilingual children and this enrichment would allow them to participate more fully in what life has in store for them regardless of whether or not they are bilinguals.

The member of the lower socio-economic class bears little, if any, concern for intellectual achievements of this nature nor for oversea travels but desires for his children a better, more balanced world to live in. Hence, his interest in bilingualism and biculturalism is a very immediate one, one of social co-existence, for which he needs, at least here in the SW ~~Texas~~, the competency in two languages and the understanding of two cultures in order to cope more effectively with the social and economic problems of his immediate surroundings, that is, his community. His child does obviously not need to develop the skill of fully performing in two mutually exclusive settings but rather that of functioning effectively in a single setting in which linguistically and culturally heterogeneous

elements interact socially and constitute, by this very token, a very unique speech community.

2.3 Illiteracy, literacy and language use

It is conceivable, within a bilingual setting, that literate competency is required only in one language. Bilinguals may merely use their ethnic language for colloquial purposes and choose the dominant language for all other purposes. In other words, illiteracy in the vernacular language and literacy in the mainstream language both may co-exist. This is obviously not the case in the two settings that we are here concerned with. Whether we promote partial or full bilingualism, we require literacy in the two languages and the question merely resides in the breadth of literate competency that is achieved. As for language use, we find ourselves in a situation where we must decide what our attitude regarding non-standard varieties of one or the other language shall be. Many bilingual programs have been criticized severely (Kjolseth 1972) for their inability to solve the dilemma of the regional as opposed to the standard dialect. Children speaking, say, a regional variety of Southwest Spanish tend to be alienated by the use of Standard Spanish to which they may solely be exposed to in school. The appropriate place that such a regional variety should have within the interactional network was not assigned there and the children's self-identity was hereby severely damaged.

If, accordingly, it becomes necessary to recognize two varieties of Spanish and teach children the distribution of each, so it becomes equally necessary to make them aware of two parallel varieties of English, a more generalized one for formal and semi-formal usage and a colloquial one for intimate usage. As a result, the implementation of a viable bilingual program is likely to be based on a four-fold distinction which the child

must learn to make in order to acquire full communicative competence in the bilingual speech community.

On the other hand, this four-fold distinction which is meaningful in a program that is designed to promote social co-existence may be irrelevant when enrichment is the primary goal. After all, how often do we find a non-prestigious dialect used when we are involved in humanistic endeavors or travel abroad? There is either no way or no desire to convey the notion that the non-native language user is sharing the membership in the community of those with whom he interacts in his second language. In his native language, of course, the child needs to acquire a greater stylistic sensitivity in order to effectively function within his own social group. For him, then, a bilingual program represents a threefold distinction.

2.4 Community involvement: parents and the broader community

The degree of outside involvement, again, seems to be dependent upon the choice between the partial as opposed to the full bilingual program. Whereas such involvement is desirable in any program, it becomes a necessity in the domain-sensitive program. Parents and neighborhood organizations are the agents responsible for the norms of social interaction that exist in a given speech community. They are the only ones that can actually validate what any outside observer may have found to pertain. If the partial bilingual program is to help implement linguistic and sociolinguistic strategies that are found in the community to ensure that the child, after he/she has acquired them in school, can actually put them to use, then we must first know, and in great detail, what these strategies actually are and how they are valued. This is where parent involvement can become most

effective, much more effective than viewing the parent as a potential teacher's aide after he or she is rapidly trained how to assist or substitute for the regular classroom teacher.

To conclude, the distinction between the two philosophies, enrichment as opposed to social co-existence, has pervasive implications for bilingual education in that it requires from the program designer to determine his objectives according to specific needs in the community which the school is to serve. If, after assessing these needs, it appears that full bilingualism is a desirable goal because of the affluency of the children enrolling in the school, then he may favor the domain-free approach, knowing that the teaching strategies will cause a high degree of duplication during the learning activities. Conversely, if partial bilingualism is the desirable goal because of the economically disadvantaged status of the children, then he may favor the domain-sensitive approach, knowing that here the teaching strategies will cause an equally high degree but of compartmentalization. Neither may prove entirely satisfactory, regardless of the fact that the goal set in each case may be viable enough for the kind of children involved in the program. In one of the later sections of the present paper, I will attempt to suggest a conciliatory solution, which may be intellectually more demanding at first but should turn out later as a far more rewarding strategy.

3. Two Types of Bilingual Education Programs

With the philosophies underlying the maintenance of two cultures and two languages thus set forth and the implication for bilingual education indicated, it may now be appropriate to determine how the domain-free and the domain-sensitive approaches can be typologically specified. It is

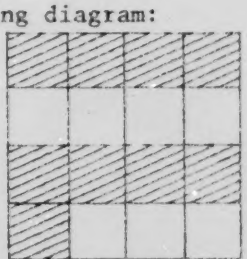
obvious that typologies merely determine prototypes and actual implementations are modifications of these to accomodate themselves to specific situations. William Mackey (1972: 149-71) has specified in his volume Bilingual Education in a Binational School as well as elsewhere ten types of programs of which at least two relate specifically to our discussion here. Type DDM (Dual-Medium Differential Maintenance) approximates what I have called the domain-sensitive approach, the one that strives for social co-existence and may largely be justified within a community with limited economic resources. Mackey defines this type in the following way:

> In maintaining two languages for different purposes, the difference may be established by subject matter, according to the likely contribution of each culture. Often the culture-based subjects like art, history, literature, and geography are in the dominant home language. (Mackey 1972: 160)

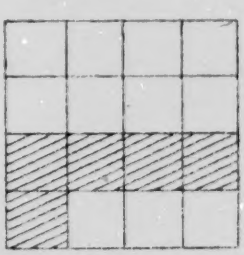
A direct reference to domains in the sociological sense is not to be expected in Mackey, although he is of course aware of the societal constraints but he stresses cultural criteria as being most significant to determine how the boundary line between language A and language B can and should be drawn. In programs that I have observed, it is the usual procedure in partial bilingual programs to cut between languages along these cultural lines, especially because the distribution of the two languages is rarely balanced and far more time is devoted to the instruction in the dominant language. The bilingual program implemented in Laredo, Texas, for example, restricts the use of Spanish to the content area of social studies during approximately 45 minutes a day but also occasional explanations in Spanish in other classes only if Spanish-dominant children cannot understand the English-speaking teacher (Jacobson, 1975). The program implemented in San Antonio, Texas, by the Edgewood School District, on the other hand, has developed a set of materials with focus on folk literature and uses

them in the Spanish reading classes. Since reading must also be taught in English, it is not really the acquisition of reading that is assigned to the Spanish constituent but the content of what is read; hence, folk literature is dealt with in Spanish and conventional reading materials in English. I have not observed any partial bilingual program whose rationale for setting up the boundary between the two languages is based upon recent findings regarding language domains but it would be most valuable to examine such a program, if it existed here in Texas or elsewhere.

Mackey's Type DDM does not consider the imbalance between languages as found in most partial programs and therefore illustrates graphically this model by the following diagram:



where ▨ stands for home language and □ for other language and where the rows represent the time scale and the columns the subjects. A more realistic diagram in regard to actual bilingual programs in this country would be to delete one of the shaded rows in order to symbolize the limited extent to which the vernacular language is actually used in the school, viz.:



Type DEM (Dual-Medium Equal Maintenance) symbolizes the full bilingual approach, the one that I have also called domain-free or enrichment-oriented and that is more effectively implemented in a community with mostly

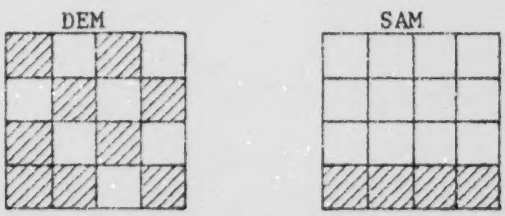
affluent members. Mackey defines this type as follows:

> In some schools, as those found in certain parts of Belgium, South Africa, and Canada, it has been necessary - often for political reasons - not to distinguish between languages and it gave an equal chance to both languages in all domains. This is done by alternating on the time scale - day, week, month, or year - from one language to the other. (Mackey 1972: 160)

As early as in the fifties I directed in Panama a private school with a program based on these very assumptions (Escuela Cristobal Rodriguez, Panama City, Republic of Panama) where English was the medium of instruction in the mornings and Spanish in the afternoon or vice versa depending upon school needs or staff availabilities. Mackey's description of the John F. Kennedy School in Berlin (1972) also agrees with the above definition as far as the use of both languages in all domains is concerned but differs from it in terms of time alternation. No particular time slots were set apart there for the use of one as opposed to the other language. Also, somewhat similar to the above design was the St. Lambert's experiment (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). Both languages, there English and French, were to be maintained and the student was expected to be equally proficient in both and to perform well in all domains, although the time balance was definitely in favor of French to level out the English-dominance of the experimental students. Because of this imbalance, the St. Lambert experiment may qualify better as a Type SAM (Single-Medium Accultural Maintenance), although no real acculturation was actually attempted for the English Canadians. Mackey describes Type SAM as follows:

> In some cases, as in certain parts of Canada, the home language is taught as a subject, without however being used as a medium of instruction. The maintenance of the home language as a subject may be the avowed purpose, as in the English-medium schools for French Canadians in Western Canada. (Mackey 1972: 158)

The situation in the St. Lambert Experiment is of course the reverse. English is maintained through the teaching of English as a subject and French is acquired by immersion into French in which all subjects are taught. Since English Canadians are not expected to acculturate to French Canada but merely become linguistically proficient and culturally aware in regard to the non-English speaking community, this program stands somewhat in the middle between the types DEM and SAM. The following diagrams in Mackey's study intend to clarify the difference between the two types:



The preceding discussions of underlying philosophies, their implications for bilingual education and the typology that specifies the nature of some of the potential bilingual programs -- within the limitation of the present investigation -- have been included here to build the framework for our forthcoming critical assessment of the two types of maintenance programs under consideration and, then, to attempt to suggest -- in view of the shortcomings of both -- a conciliatory solution which I am submitting to your consideration.

4. Critical Assessment and a Conciliatory Solution

Regardless of the rationale for the implementation of anyone of the bilingual maintenance programs, it appears that all possess some shortcomings, such that it becomes difficult to prefer one to the other. The full bilingual program is obviously full of duplications in view of the fact that the teacher is expected to teach all content in both languages. To expose students to materials dealing with history, geography, arts, mathematics,

science, etc in, say, English as well as Spanish demands of the teacher double preparation and this fact explains why so many bilingual teachers feel that they are in a disadvantageous position in regard to the monolingual teachers, who only have to prepare their subject matter once; and, bilingual teachers do not receive any incentive for this additional load (Jacobson, 1975). As for the students, this duplication implies redundancy in content, if they are truly proficient in the two languages, or else the teaching of content in the non-dominant language is reduced to the teaching of the latter as a subject, that is, it becomes a second language learning activity.

The partial bilingual maintenance program, conversely, is highly compartmentalized in both its manifestations. If the language distribution is culture-conditioned, the student acquires literate competency in one language to deal with certain subjects and in the other language to deal with others. Taken in its extreme form, such a program would train children to discuss topics related to, say, social studies only in Spanish but not in English and to discuss science and math problems in English and not in Spanish. This is really not ~~an absurdity~~ as absurd as it may seem in view of the fact that each subject matter requires the knowledge of specialized words without which no content-specific dialog is possible. On the other hand, if the distribution is domain-oriented, the student acquires literate competency in one language to deal with topics related only to the home, the neighborhood and possibly the church and in the other language to explore issues concerning the school, the society at large, politics, etc. However we take it, the competency in the two languages becomes restricted and we may wish to offer our students a greater completeness than that which the compartmentalized approach achieves and less redundancy than that which the full bilingual program suggests.

The conciliatory solution which I am proposing will make extensive use of code-shifting, a strategy well-known in Mexican America as well as other diglossic regions of the U.S. and the world, by which the speaker alternates his speech by switching from one language to the other and back to the first one depending upon various cues that the broader context - the listener, the audience, the topic, the setting, etc. -- may suggest to him. The teacher will avoid here the duplication and teach content once by ably shifting from one to the other language. She will avoid compartmentalization and have her children approach every aspect of content in both languages, stressing at the same time the interactional norms as implemented in the community in order for the children to learn how one selects the appropriate code for each situation. This type of bilingual program, which we may call the non-redundant full bilingual maintenance program shall require, in addition to the code-shifting strategies in the classroom, a number of other characteristics which I will specify below. The inclusion of each of these elements in the proposed approach, I believe, is important for a successful implementation of the same.

(1) Code-shifting strategies

The use of code-shifting strategies by teachers and students can easily be justified on the basis of the fact that they represent the future expected behavior. Obviously, I do not refer here to the practice by some members of bilingual communities to shift between languages at the phrase or clause level or to indulge into the borrowing of words from the other language that do not usually occur in the speech of others (Gumperz and Hernandez, 1971; Shaffer, 1975; and others). Rather, I am

referring here to the technique which allows the speaker to deal with one subject, or a part thereof, in one language and with another in the other language and do so in fast sequence. This ability is required in real life from any bilingual who translates and interprets for individuals who do not share the same language or who simply talks now to a person of one language background and later to a person of another. Although I have seen no such materials developed for school use, I could think of very effective lessons along these lines in math, science, social studies, folk literature and so on. Let us suppose, a primary grade teacher wishes to teach subtraction on the basis of numbers under 20, her dialog with the students could go like this:

i T: How much is "twenty" minus "eight"?

ii St: "Twelve."

iii T: And "eighteen" minus "six"?

iv St: Also "twelve".

v T "Twelve" is "doce" in Spanish, isn't it?

vi St: Si, maestra.

vii T: ¿Y que otra palabra puedo usar en vez de "doce" y hablar de la misma cantidad?

viii St: Una docena.

ix T: ¿Cuántos hay en una docena?

x St: Doce.

xi T: And in half a dozen?

xii St: Six.

etc.

This example is not necessarily a valid one from the viewpoint of teaching arithmetic to small children but illustrates the point that I am trying to

make. A single objective is chosen but it is taught in two languages in alternation. More often than not, it will be the teacher who takes the shifting initiative but, as in line (vi) it may also be the student who acts in response to a cue (doce) in the teacher's question.

Even more meaningful would be a switching technique when the topic concerns persons or objects more easily identifiable as belonging to one or the other language or culture. In geography, the lesson about rivers could combine information regarding, say, the Mississippi and the Rio Grande with the tacit understanding between teachers and students that one talks about the Mississippi in English and the Rio Grande in Spanish. In one of my observations of bilingual classes, a bilingual teacher told me proudly that, next week they would be talking about Lincoln in Spanish, to which I responded that it would be so much more meaningful to speak in Spanish about persons like Cortez, Zapata, Seguin and discuss Lincoln in the language that he himself spoke. Unfortunately, "Spanish" heroes (and this includes Mexican and Mexican-American heroes) had not been included in the program.

The code-shifting strategy, as briefly suggested here, seems to be far more representative of true bilingualism than the conventional bilingual approach. Bilingual teaching should not be the juxtaposition of two monolingual programs, whether it is based on all or only a part of the total subject matter, but rather the creative use of two languages combined in the task of teaching/learning one and the same content.

(2) Other elements

In view of the limitation in time, I will have to be brief in dealing with the number of elements that are likely to warrant the successful

implementation of the non-redundant program. I am talking here about such elements as (a) the teacher and student population, (b) the socio-cultural relevancy of language choice (c) the focus on social interaction and (d) the optional use of parent involvement.

All teachers participating in the non-redundant bilingual program should be thoroughly trained bilingual teachers and no student within this program should be taught by the traditional monolingual teacher, since code-shifting is here the pervasive element in all classes and only bilingual teachers can be expected to shift from one to the other language. The student population should be as balanced as possible. This may not be easy to achieve, since ethnic groups are often concentrated in certain areas and schools in such areas may have little opportunity of balancing out the minority and the dominant groups where this, however, is possible like in some of the border or close-to-the border towns, such as, Brownsville, Laredo, Del Rio, El Paso, mixed classes of 50% of Anglo-Americans and 50% of Mexican-Americans should be attempted (A 40% Anglo-Americans and 60% Mexican-Americans might be preferable in view of the fact that some Mexican-American children, despite ethnic membership and Spanish surname, may be highly acculturated in the direction of Anglo-America.) The balance so achieved would indicate that this program is not to be conceived as a remedy for the poor (Fishman, 1970) but a truly bicultural experience.

Language choice becomes relevant to the extent to which the preference of one language over the other is significant from a cultural viewpoint or appropriat according to the domain to which it relates in any given case. The cultural as well as the domain-oriented perspective should always be present when teachers develop materials, plan their lessons and build into them certain cues that will

trigger alternation. As for the cultural focus, it will correlate more closely the language with the ethnic or dominant heritage that the children bring along. The focus on domains, on the other hand, will assist them in making appropriate choices when they are not in school and must follow the norms of social interaction in which the community believes. Within such a framework, it becomes vital for the teacher to develop in her students a high degree of cultural awareness. In addition, it is important for her to help these children internalize the set of interactional rules that they need in order to function positively in a community where members of two cultures and speakers of two languages share mutual experiences.

The acquisition of rules of social interaction and the awareness of what is culturally significant is most effectively developed in the code-shifting classroom. Cultural understanding and sociolinguistic behavior cannot be gained by permitting, at times even reluctantly, children to speak the ethnic language in school and only during short periods of time. Neither can it be gained by rationalizing and verbalizing in front of the children that it is all right to speak Spanish -- or whatever ethnic language may be dominant among a group of children -- and by adopting a patronizing or condescending attitude in this respect but only by creating at all times a truly bicultural and bilingual atmosphere so that the children may feel comfortable about using either one of the two languages involved. The child, and by no means only the small child, who must decide whether it is or it is not appropriate to speak Spanish in school, will not decide, spontaneously in favor of Spanish just because the teacher said it was all right but will do so only when he observes the teacher and other children interacting with one another in the two languages without any observable preference for either one, except what content or appropriateness

may suggest. This brings us back to the earlier issue of code-shifting techniques that are intended to precisely develop in the children this fully balanced bilingual behavior.

Parent involvement is not unknown in bilingual programs and the willingness to help the school is certainly a most positive attitude among ethnic parents. The type of involvement that parents are asked for, however, does not make the best of their potentials. To turn parents into teachers aides may be convenient for the school in view of the shortage of bilingually trained personnel. It may also be encouraging to the parents themselves to learn in "parents institutes" how to take over certain functions, whether pedagogical or others, that would normally be carried out by the bilingual teacher. More important than that, however, would be to use parents as resource persons to help the school, teachers as well as children, understand how the community thinks, what behavior they (the parents) expect from their children at home and in the neighborhood, which role they expect the school to play in the teaching of their children, etc. The use of parents along these lines would allow us to compile an ethnographic inventory of the community and specify the functional relationship of language to domain of which the community approves. In this way the school and the community will not work at cross-purposes nor will the teachers' accomplishments be forgotten or even discarded when the students leave the school.

5. Conclusion

It has been the purpose of the present paper to discuss the different rationales underlying two types of maintenance programs and to point out the implications of these for bilingual education. The typological aspects of the programs constructed along these lines were then discussed, especially in

reference to Mackey's survey of the various types of bilingual education. The contributions of bilingual programs were then assessed, in a somewhat generalized way, and some shortcomings pointed out. Finally, a conciliatory solution, the "non-redundant full bilingual maintenance program," was suggested and discussed in some detail. The synthesis of the discussion was directed to the recognition of the fact that conventional bilingual maintenance programs either duplicate content or lead to language compartmentalization, whereas a creative approach should make use of two languages and assist the teacher in teaching content non-redundantly as well as making children become aware of their cultural heritage and sensitive to appropriate sociolinguistic behavior.

This latter approach lays out for colleges and universities involved in the preparation of bilingual teachers a well-defined pattern to follow. Prospective bilingual teachers must, at the same time, become teachers of English and Spanish as a second language to help create the truly bilingual classroom. The teaching of content in the two languages is obviously impossible when the students are still learning the second language. Prospective teachers must be acquainted with the typological and educational aspects regarding bilingual education. With regard to the former, they are learning to understand the correlation between community needs and desires, on one hand, and the type of bilingual education program to be implemented, on the other. With regard to the latter, they must acquire, not only a balanced competency in the two languages but the ability to creatively switch languages and to subtly provide the cues that produce the switching. Obviously, this array of abilities can only be acquired when some knowledge in linguistics, sociolinguistics and related disciplines has been gained. Teachers often attempt to apply practically the knowledge that they do not yet posses and a well-structured teacher education program must prevent this by providing for them the appropriate background.

A new and innovative institution of higher learning, the University of Texas at San Antonio, in its Multi-disciplinary College as well as in its College of Social Sciences and Humanities, is offering its students this very background. It is particularly in our Division of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies that we are offering the necessary courses in ESL culture, bilingual typology and teaching of content. In addition, we are drawing from several other divisions for academic support in either preliminary or additional areas. Hopefully, other colleges and universities will follow our initiative in order for all of us to join forces in making bilingual education, not a program for the disadvantaged, but an experience in multicultural and multilingual coexistence in America.

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